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Desegregation of Kentucky schools began in 1955 with a few scattered districts. The major step came in 1956 when the public schools of Louisville were opened to all children without regard to race. Since 1956, there has been steady, although measured, progress in school desegregation. In 1962 about half of Kentucky's Negro students attended all-Negro schools. No official action maintains segregation. Where there has been official action, the patterns of segregation range the whole breadth of the segregation-desegregation spectrum. The policies of Louisville and Jefferson County are considered separately in the report, because they contain a major portion of the Negro population in Kentucky.

There are several different patterns of desegregation followed in Kentucky school districts. Some districts have segregated their high schools but still maintain their segregated elementary school system. Others have desegregated their elementary schools, but send Negro high school students to a public Negro boarding school. Still other plans maintain separate systems for Negroes and whites, but allow Negroes to transfer to a white school. A few districts forbid any Negro child to attend school with a white child.

While most communities have moved from a firm resistance to an acceptance of desegregation as inevitable, segregation still exists. The problem remains of finding someone to initiate desegregation activity. The local school administrators, Negro parents and community leaders, and national organizations for securing Negro rights have failed to assume this leadership role.

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Public Schools: Southern States

1962

KENTUCKY

By LAURENCE W. KNOWLES

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A Report To

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Bennett O. Stalvey

Preface

In collecting material for this report the author personally interviewed many school administrators, guidance counselors, and teachers. Some of their observations are included where they seemed necessary to an understanding of the desegregation process. They represent the considered judgment of professional persons working in the public school systems discussed.

The author wishes to extend his sincere gratitude to all the Kentucky school personnel who contributed graciously of their time and knowledge to this report. It is hoped that this report reflects their professional dedication to improve and equalize educational opportunities for all Kentucky schoolchildren.

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JULY 1, 1962.

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Part I. Kentucky

Introduction

Kentucky is not a Northern nor a Southern State. Committed to neither side during the Civil War, it nevertheless fathered the Presidents of both the Union and the Confederacy. The two sons of its Congressman, Breckinridge, became officers of field rank in the same war, but in different camps.

This division of tempers remains. The Bluegrass country and southwestern Kentucky are the Kentucky of Henry Clay and John Hunt Morgan—of southern mind and mores. Quite a different sentiment is found in Louisville and Jefferson County. Still another set of attitudes exist in the isolated mountain districts of eastern Kentucky. These opposing temperaments course through every advance and setback experienced in school desegregation in Kentucky.

Desegregation of Kentucky schools began in 1955 with a few scattered districts. However, in 1956 the big step came. In that year the late Omer Carmichael, then superintendent of public schools in Louisville, opened the schools to all children without regard to race. After a year of planning, speaking to civic groups, and generally keeping a hand on the community pulse, Dr. Carmichael had concluded that Louisville was ready for desegregation.[1] The success of the move is now history, as is the praise, both national and international, which attended it. In one stroke well over a third of Kentucky's Negro school population was permitted to attend school with white children.

Since 1956 there has been steady, although measured, progress in school desegregation. But Kentucky is still far from complete school desegregation. In 1962 about half of Kentucky's Negro students attended all-Negro schools. However, the patterns establishing this proportion are not monolithic. In fact, in several instances, Negroes have chosen to attend all-Negro schools, and to this extent no official action maintains segregation. Where there has been official action, the patterns of segregation range the whole breadth of the segrega-

[1] See Carmichael and James, *The Louisville Story* (1957).

tion-desegregation horizon. For example, some school districts have desegregated their high schools, but still maintain their segregated elementary school system. Other school districts have desegregated their elementary schools, but send Negro high school students to a public Negro boarding school. Still other districts maintain separate systems for Negroes and whites, but allow Negroes to transfer to the white schools. And there are school districts which forbid any Negro child to attend school with a white child.

Louisville and Jefferson County are considered first and separately because they contain a major portion of the Negro population in Kentucky. Following is a survey of the patterns of segregation which exist in the State as a whole. A conclusion and a statistical appendix complete the report.

The Louisville Public School System

Louisville, a flourishing industrial center and the only large city in Kentucky, is located on the southern bank of the Ohio River some 90 miles below Cincinnati. The bridge which has linked Louisville to southern Indiana for many years is a tangible reminder that if Louisville was ever a typical southern city it may no longer be considered so. As an important port for river trade from its beginnings, Louisville had early ties with the South and adopted many southern traditions and customs, including the separation of the races in most aspects of life.

Louisville's public schools were organized and operated on a racially separate basis as required by State law until the school year 1956–57. The complete, voluntary desegregation of all its schools in the fall of that year is a well-known success story. How does desegregation look there after 6 years of operation? Has it produced biracial schools throughout the city or does school segregation persist due to factors other than law? Has it equalized educational opportunity for all children? These are the questions which will be considered in this report.

In 1960, Louisville had a total population of 390,639, of whom 71,315, or about 18 percent, were Negro. The proportion of Negroes in the public school population is, however, almost double this percentage—approximately 35 percent—due principally to the number of white pupils enrolled in parochial schools. The parochial schools of Louisville do not exclude Negroes but there are many more white than Negro Catholics in this city.

The total public school enrollment in the school year 1961–62 was 48,063 pupils, of whom 16,789 were Negroes. These pupils attend the city's 73 elementary, junior, and senior high schools. The factors which tend to create a large degree of segregation in the schools, in spite of a completely nondiscriminatory organization of the school system and a free transfer or enrollment policy, seem to be different in the three classes of schools. They will, therefore, be considered separately.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The city is zoned geographically into attendance areas for each of its 54 elementary schools which house a total of 28,096 pupils, including 9,867 Negroes (35 percent). There is no apparent gerrymander of boundary lines to create segregation in the schools, but nevertheless almost one-half of the schools are almost all white or all Negro in enrollment. In 14 schools Negro pupils are a minority of 2 percent or less, and, conversely, in 8 schools whites are in the same small proportion.

A distinct racial division in housing, creating separate white and Negro residential areas in the city, seems to be the principal cause of the substantial segregation at the elementary school level. Where proximity to school is the only consideration in fixing the boundary lines for school attendance areas, as in Louisville, schools placed in appropriate spots geographically take on the racial complexion of the neighborhood served.

The movement of Negroes from rural to urban areas, and of whites from the city to the suburbs, is seen in Louisville, as in most American cities today. Numerically, since school desegregation in 1956, there has been an increase of 4,779 Negro pupils in the public schools as compared with a decrease of 2,557 white pupils. Proportionately, the Negro school population was 10 percent greater in 1961–62 than in 1956–57. The Negro residential areas, of necessity, have been expanding to meet the housing needs of the increased population. As the boundaries of the Negro residential areas are broken, the periphery becomes a transitional area, turning from white to Negro over a period of several years.

The elementary schools adjacent to or located in a transitional housing area reflect the community change.[2] For example, in one school the white enrollment has decreased from 32 to 6 percent in 2 school years; in another, a white majority of 52 percent has been reduced to

[2] See app. A.

a minority of 25 percent in the same period. This resegregation trend is due primarily to the increase in the Negro population and changing housing patterns. But Louisville's free-transfer rule plays its part also.

As part of its desegregation plan, Louisville adopted a rule permitting any child, white or Negro, to transfer out of the school of the zone of his residence to any other school of the same grade level in the city which could accommodate him, upon the written request of his parents. Parents of white children at the elementary school level begin to request transfer of their children when the school ratio tips to a Negro majority. The increase in white transfers is precipitous when the white percentage in a school sinks below 30 percent.

This transfer-exodus pattern runs through the entire Louisville school system, from elementary through senior high school. In one respect, however, it differs in elementary schools. In general, elementary schools do not completely polarize; some white children stay even when they are in a small minority. At the higher levels the minority transfers, leaving the school wholly segregated. The primary reason a few white children remain in a neighborhood elementary school which has become largely Negro seems to be social. The elementary school child is colorblind although his parents are not. Parents make the decision to transfer the elementary child; he does not ask for it. His social group is comprised of neighborhood children and he prefers to be in school with his afterschool playmates, whatever their color. Consequently, if his parents do not feel strongly about the racial complexion of the school, he stays; the child himself does not become the moving force for transfer. These currents reverse themselves at the junior and senior high levels.

New elementary schools generally are placed in biracial areas when the school population is burgeoning. This does not appear to be a conscious official policy to produce a racial balance in the schools but a direct response to population demands. As housing in an area becomes racially mixed, the older residents without school-age children leave. These homes are purchased by Negro families with young children. The white families with young children are relatively immobile and remain. Thus, the elementary school population increases in transitional neighborhoods and calls for a new school. The newest school in such a neighborhood has a Negro-white enrollment of 447–446 and half the faculty is Negro.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Louisville has 13 junior high schools serving a student body of 12,193, of whom 38 percent are Negroes. Again almost half of the schools

are substantially white or Negro in enrollment; three are over 99-percent Negro, and three are over 99-percent white. Seventy percent of all Negro junior high school students go to the three Negro schools.[3]

Junior high, like elementary school students, are originally assigned by geographical school areas,[4] and they have the same right to transfer out of the school of the zone of residence to any junior high school in the city which is not overcrowded ("closed"). The rub is that most of the biracial schools near the Negro schools are closed to transfers. The result in one school area is that the Negro students must travel out of their own attendance zone, across an adjacent zone, to a third attendance area, a distance of 3 miles across town, to attend the nearest open *biracial* school (actually the nearest open school is another all-Negro school). This transportation is at the students' expense. There are two racially mixed junior high schools within walking distance, but these are "closed."

The transfer program has another thorn in it. At least one administrator feels that Negro transfer students who become discipline problems in biracial schools are discriminatorily transferred back to the Negro school of their zone of residence.[5] Moreover, there are instances of Negroes living in the zones of biracial schools who were "offered the opportunity" to transfer to a Negro school when they became discipline problems, on the ground that they would be happier "among their own kind." On the other hand, white students who are resentful of Negro students have also been asked to transfer.

The junior high schools tend to polarize much more than elementary schools for two reasons, both relating to the age group represented. At the junior high level, a child's social group changes from the neighborhood play group he enjoyed in elementary school to a racially homogeneous dating group. The white junior high child does not want to remain in a school which does not include a substantial number of his own social circle. By reason of his age also he is more mobile than an elementary child, and can attend school much farther from home. As a result, if the racially mixed school does not provide a substantial

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[3] See app. B.

[4] There appears to be a gerrymander of one Negro junior high school attendance zone. In 1956, in the original integration process, the zone of the white junior high school added so many Negroes to the enrollment that the school was overcrowded. The nearby Negro junior high school had empty classrooms. To relieve this situation, the school board (with the approval of several representatives of the Negro community) redrew the attendance areas of the two schools. The line was drawn along the street which divides the Negro community from the white. The Negro community was placed in the Negro junior high district. This boundary line remains.

[5] Transfer revocation statistics in the 1961–62 school year do not support this suspicion on their face. In this period there were six white students and four Negro students transferred back to the schools in their zones of residence. However, these statistics do not reflect the comparative degrees of bad conduct of Negro and white students, which is a basis for revocation of transfers. (Truancy is the only other basis.)

social group for the white child in the minority in the school, he transfers. The school is emptied of white students and remains so.

This does not hold true for Negro students. Even when there are only a few Negro children in a biracial school, several of them will remain. There is no lessening of the pressures on the child to migrate to a school in which his social group has larger representation. The Negro children, like the white children, want to leave. However, among some Negro parents there is a strong desire to send the child to a racially mixed school. A desire to teach a child to "get along with white folks" motivates some Negro parents to keep him in a largely white school, even though the child objects. Other Negro parents believe that the education provided in a predominantly white school is better than that offered in a Negro school. The wish to see the child prove himself in competition with white children also influences the Negro parents' decision.[6]

For these reasons the predominantly Negro junior high school is apt to become all Negro, but in the predominantly white school, a few Negroes will remain.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Louisville has 6 senior high schools serving 7,500 students, 26 percent of whom are Negroes. The Louisville system allows each student free election of senior high schools at the end of the ninth year of junior high.[7] Among the high schools, one is a trade school and the remainder are college preparatory or comprehensive high schools. Seventy-three percent of the Negro students attend one high school, Central, the predesegregation Negro high school in Louisville.[8] There was one white student in this high school in 1961–62.

The pattern of choice of high schools by Negroes appears to be determined mainly by their junior high school attendance. Thus, if the Negro student has attended one of the three Negro junior high schools, the odds are over 3–1 that he will attend the Negro high school, Central. Seventy-six percent of the graduates of the three Negro junior high schools who continue in school choose to attend Central. On the other hand, if a Negro student has attended a racially mixed junior high school, there is a better than a 3–1 chance that he will attend a racially mixed high school rather than Central.[9]

These contrasts become even more meaningful in the light of the distance of the various schools from the homes of the Negro students.

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[6] From interviews with guidance counselors and administrators.

[7] There are a few program and geographical limitations on the election of high schools. See app. C.

[8] See app. D.

[9] See app. E.

The length of the journey to school appears to have little relation to the choice of high school. Nor does the economic burden of transportation seem to make any substantial difference. (Louisville does not provide school transportation.) In fact, the only reported instances of transportation costs as a determinative factor in the choice of high schools are where the costs encouraged desegregation. It was the observation of an administrative official in one all-Negro junior high school that the students who did not choose Central fell into two groups; those with above average abilities, and those who could not afford the carfare.

The inference is strong that Negro high school students prefer biracial education only if they have experienced it before. If a Negro student has not received his formative education in biracial schools, the chances are he will not choose to enter one in his more mature school years.

Most Negro students who do attend racially mixed high schools choose those having a substantial Negro enrollment. Again, there is the desire to be part of a social group within the school. If there is not a sizable Negro enrollment in a high school, the Negroes do not choose it.

The trade (or vocational) school, Ahrens, must be treated apart. One might expect Negroes to gravitate to manual arts training. However, less than 5 percent of the student body of this school is Negro. The reason lies in the backdrop of the complete segregation in postschool employment opportunities. Ahrens trains students for the skilled trades, an area in which many local labor unions refuse to accept Negro apprentices.[10] Moreover, employers have refused to hire Negro graduates, fearing trouble with white employees if they do. The Negro students who want to enter a trade are thus pushed by the community into traditional trades for Negroes. Courses in these trades are offered at Central, the Negro high school. Thus Central attracts the trademinded student with such offerings as tailoring, beauty culture, and tearoom service.

There is still an accounting to be made for the Negroes who choose to attend Central High School. The choice of Central by those who attended Negro junior high schools has been discussed. These students do not desire to trade a known social group for the unknown factors of biracial situations for the first time at this level.

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[10] From an interview with an administrator of Ahrens. His views are substantiated by a statement of the head of the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, in Kentucky: "Only a handful of Negroes" are among the approximately 1,000 persons enrolled in the apprenticeship programs in the Louisville area.

In the employment area generally, a survey of the 1960 graduates of five Louisville high schools revealed that over a quarter of the graduates of the Negro high school were unemployed, whereas the *average* of the five high schools was 10 percent unemployed (The Louisville Times, Jan. 19, 1962).

The motivations of Negroes who attended racially mixed junior high schools to return to a racially homogeneous school seem to be various.[11] The principal motive of Negro girls is the large social horizon existing at Central. Again, leadership opportunities for girls are chiefly in social activities, such as cheerleading, reigning as a dance queen, and sorority life. The male students, however, have additional motives. There is an understandable identification by the Negro community with Central's outstanding athletic achievements. The Negro athlete who represents Central wears the community garlands. Some athletes, who could play on the first team at other high schools, choose Central, and a place on the second team there.

College scholarship opportunities are another factor affecting both boys and girls. When Louisville first desegregated its schools the academically talented Negroes chose to attend the older Louisville high schools of high scholastic reputation. Several years have passed and the trend has reversed, although not completely. The Negro community feels that the racially mixed high schools favor white students in scholarship recommendations. This undercurrent is quickened by the fact that in several of the racially mixed schools no Negro has received an academic scholarship. On the other hand, Central has a history of liaison with southern Negro colleges and other schools which offer scholarships for Negroes. As a result, there has been a return of some academically talented Negro students to Central. Not all have returned, but many. The Negro parent in the upper income bracket, who can afford to send his child to college, generally prefers a racially mixed and a more prestigious high school education over a chance of a scholarship to a Negro college.

Central has suffered from desegregation.[12] It was and is Louisville's Negro high school, but it no longer gets all of the best Negro students. A substantial number of talented Negro students (scholastically, athletically, and musically) do not choose Central. Negro educators believe that talented Negro students are encouraged to attend integrated schools. Students with an outstanding talent are more readily accepted by white students. Insofar as students at Central have been deprived of an opportunity to associate with very talented students, Central has suffered.

SCHOLASTIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

As borne out by previous studies of Negroes in Louisville schools, they show no identifiable lack of scholastic potential. Most teachers inter-

[11] From interviews with administrators and guidance counselors.
[12] Central's dropout rate is the highest in the city, 29.6 percent in 1960–61.

viewed reported no difference between Negro and white performance in school. Those who do see a small difference are careful to attribute it to the generally lower socioeconomic background of the Negro pupil.

In one formerly all-white school zone and neighborhood, the first Negroes to move in were from the upper socioeconomic strata of the Negro community. Their children reflected this cultural background. As a result, in the beginning years of the transition, the average Negro student did better scholastically than the average white student. After a cross section of the Negro community settled in the neighborhood the initial superiority of the Negro students leveled out.

The fact that the first Negroes in the school were scholastically superior to the white students served to retard the exodus of white teachers. Any initial prejudice the white teachers may have had was compensated for by the satisfaction of teaching more responsive classes. In other schools, even where Negro students make up 93 percent of the student body, white teachers stay if the students achieve well scholastically. Teachers do not seem to leave Louisville schools when Negroes enroll, unless they are poor students.

Several school officials observed that Negro children were more prone to be absent and tardy than white children. This was explained as part of the struggle of the child with his environment. This environmental taproot is said also to explain the resentment by some Negroes of white authority in the school and the racially-based student friction which sometimes appears.

There are various estimates of the proportion of discipline problems caused by Negro students. The only conclusion possible from the conflicting reports is that there is no identifiable difference between the races in deportment. Several schools which employ Negro faculty members enlist them to aid in the discipline of Negro children. Negro students who resent white authority or white students have been advised to transfer to a racially homogeneous school.

In the initial years of desegregation, the Louisville schools abandoned informal school dances. There has been a cautious return to these, based on favorable experience. Members of the different races do not dance together; school principals would discontinue the dances again if this occurred. Negroes are well represented at dances if they comprise a substantial portion of the student body; if they are a small minority, they do not identify with the school's social functions, and do not attend.

Club activities depending upon parental support were discontinued in one high school when some parents objected to Negro participation. Similarly, other clubs depending upon community facilities have been affected. For example, one school will abandon its bowling program if Negroes are not permitted in the bowling alleys. Swimming

activities were also threatened until a YMCA revised its policies and permitted Negro participation.

Lunchrooms serve all pupils enrolled in the school although the pupils show a marked tendency to divide racially in the lunchroom. Lack of common social interests seems to be the cause, since Negro and white students having a common interest, such as athletics or music, eat together.

Parental participation in the PTA is about equal between the races. At this time, after several years of integration, Negro parents are no longer hesitant to put forward opinions, both within the PTA structure, and at the school.

NEGRO TEACHERS IN THE LOUISVILLE SYSTEM

Louisville did not assign Negro teachers to classrooms having white students until 3 years after pupil desegregation.[13] There has been a continuing increase of the Negro teachers appointed on faculties of biracial schools since that time and there are now over 80.[14] No white teachers have joined previously all-Negro faculties. Negro students in these schools continue to be taught only by Negro teachers.

The Negro teachers average more postgraduate degrees than white teachers, and the facile observation "but from Negro colleges" is not true in many cases. However, there is no Negro teacher assigned to a high school other than Central, the predesegregation Negro high school, although over 500 Negroes attend other high schools in the city. One reason suggested by some observers is that school officials believe that the older students would resent Negro teachers. Another is the traditional opinion that Negro teachers, despite their formal educational achievements, are inferior.

The situation in junior high schools is little different. There are eight Negro teachers on integrated junior high school faculties. Five are women, several of whom teach "special" classes, and three male

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[13] The average salary for teachers in the Louisville system is $5,510, approximately $550 less than the national average. However, the average age of Louisville teachers is over 45 years, much higher than the national average. This means that a larger proportion of Louisville teachers receive maximum salaries than the national average. Thus, the Louisville salary scale must be much lower than a comparison to the national average indicates. Negro teachers average higher incomes than white teachers. This is because Negro teachers on the average have more hours of postgraduate study than white teachers. Postgraduate study affects salary more directly than any other factor except years of service.

[14] Negro teachers, at the initial stage of teacher desegregation, were very hesitant to accept appointments to white faculties. A "feeler" letter asking certain Negro teachers if they wanted to serve on previously all-white faculties received negative responses. The following year Negroes were appointed to white faculties.

teachers. It has been suggested that the paucity of male Negro teachers in the high schools is due to a fear of bringing them into personal contact with white female pupils. In fact, two of the male Negro teachers in the junior high schools teach the nonsensitive courses of manual arts to boys.

The remaining Negro teachers, an overwhelming majority, teach in predominantly Negro and biracial elementary schools. Many, if not most, of these are the transitional schools, and as has been mentioned, change quickly in their racial composition and become almost all-Negro schools. One teacher believed there is an unwritten policy to appoint Negro teachers when the percentage of Negro students in a school passes 50 percent.

The easiest initial placement of Negro teachers in a non-Negro school is in the new elementary school. There is no incumbent white faculty there to resist the appointment. For example, two new schools opened in 1961–62 with very substantially integrated faculties. It is suspected that the newness of the facilities served to attract white teachers, even though the student body was largely Negro, and the faculty would be biracial.

Negro teacher desegregation in Louisville has hurt the education of Negro children at the all-Negro schools. Originally, to ease the acceptance of Negro teachers in the white schools, the best Negro teachers were chosen for transfer. This practice has continued. One teacher in a Negro school received a national award for excellence in his specialty and was transferred to an all-white faculty the following year. Thus, teacher desegregation, like pupil desegregation, has resulted in an educational setback for pupils remaining in all-Negro schools.

Negroes are not high in the hierarchy of school administration in Louisville. In the board of education offices there are two Negroes. One is an assistant supervisor of music studies, supervising only Negro schools. The other Negro is in charge of mimeographing. She is assisted by one part-time worker. There are no Negro secretaries or clerks.

In answer to an allegation of personnel discrimination, the school superintendent stated that 11 school principals and five assistant principals in the system were Negroes.[15] He failed to mention that they headed only Negro personnel.

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[15] So. School News, May 1962, p. 18.

The Jefferson County System

Jefferson County, excluding Louisville, has a population of 120,308. The Negro population is less than 10 percent of this figure. Most of the Negroes live in the areas suburban to Louisville and work in the city; only a few are scattered throughout the county.

Prior to desegregation in 1956, Jefferson County maintained a number of one-room elementary schools for its sparse Negro population and sent its Negroes of high school age to the Negro high school in Louisville, or to Lincoln Institute in the adjoining county. After desegregation, the one-room Negro elementary schools were gradually abandoned, the nearest white elementary school absorbing the Negro pupils.

Two segregated situations still exist. One small segregated school still handles grades 1–3 for Negroes, but grades 4–6, formerly included, have been transferred to the neighboring white elementary school. This physically poor Negro school is maintained for the lowest grades because the nearby white school does not have room for the children. The other segregated system is in Jeffersontown, where both a white and a Negro elementary school, grades 1—8, operate. Transfer of the Negro children from the Negro school to the physically superior white school now would cause some overcrowding. The school board, therefore, wants to wait until the town's population justifies the building of a new school to replace both existing schools. Until the new school is built, Negroes are expected to be assigned to attend the segregated school.

There is space in one new elementary school in the county to absorb all of the Negroes now attending the segregated schools nearby. But to attend this school the Negro children would have to be bussed past other biracial schools. The school administration feels this would look like segregation (passing the nearest desegregated school to go to another), although the receiving school enrolls both races. It will not be done.

There is one Negro elementary school in Jefferson County that is not the result of official segregation, but of geography. The school abuts a Negro suburban development where the majority of Negro elementary pupils in the county live. Built prior to desegregation in 1956, it is a superior structure, handling grades 1 to 9.

Negro high school students in Jefferson County are scattered among several formerly white schools, and do not compose more than 11

percent of any student body. There are several schools with less than 15 Negroes in student bodies of over 1,300. In the latter schools the dropout rate among the Negro students is very high. In other schools enrolling a substantial number of Negro students there is no Negro dropout problem.

Negro students, when in a very small ratio in a formerly white school, do not participate in school social activities and their parents do not attend PTA meetings. On the whole, it may be said that identification with the school as "their school" is lacking. On the other hand, when a substantial number of Negro students are enrolled, they seem to identify with the school and its functions; dances and PTA meetings are well attended in that case. In one school a Negro girl was elected to be a cheerleader of the student body of 1,400 white students.

There is a wide gap in the socioeconomic background of the average white child and the average Negro child in Jefferson County schools. This is reflected in the generally poorer scholastic performance of the Negro students. Moreover, one school administrator observed that the Negroes who have attended the two segregated elementary schools were not as well prepared for high school as those who attended biracial elementary schools.

Some schools in the Jefferson County system employ a track system for assignment to classes. Experience shows that most Negroes gravitate toward the lower track levels. One high school, after abandoning racial designation on registration cards, has resumed the practice. It was found that, in the absence of racial information, lower track classes had topheavy Negro ratios. Now Negroes are given "every break" in track classification to avoid an overly high concentration of Negroes in some classrooms.

The Negro teachers from the one-room schools which have been closed were transferred to the faculties of the remaining Negro schools. To date no Negro teacher in this county has lost his livelihood as a result of desegregation.

On the other hand, there are no Negro teachers teaching white children in Jefferson County. Moreover, there has been no announcement by the school board of any plan for teacher desegregation. Some school administrators believe that the present training programs for Negro teachers will produce much more capable teachers than in the past, and predict that the new generation of Negro teachers may be found qualified for placement on white faculties.

Other Kentucky School Districts

Of the approximately 43,000 Negro pupils in Kentucky public schools, approximately 43 percent live in Louisville and Jefferson County, which have already been discussed. The remaining 57 percent (about 25,000) are widely scattered throughout the State. Some of Kentucky's 120 counties have no Negro population at all, and in others it is very small.

There are 209 school districts in Kentucky, 120 county districts, and 89 independent systems. There is no Negro school population in 54 of these 209 districts.[16] The remaining 155 districts occupy every calibration on the segregation-desegregation yardstick. Some of the biracial school districts operate Negro high schools; others never have provided in-district education at this level for Negroes. Some have absorbed all Negro high school students into the formerly white schools but still maintain segregated elementary schools; a few have abandoned segregation at all levels. Some school districts still operate segregated schools at all levels, but have adopted desegregation policies permitting Negroes to apply for transfer to white schools. Therefore, the segregation-desegregation patterns in Kentucky school districts in the school year 1961–62 at the high school and elementary levels will be considered separately. In addition, the following will be discussed: Lincoln Institute, a public boarding school for Negro students in Shelby County; the effect of school desegregation on Negro teachers; and the policies and actions of the State board of education. A summary concludes the text of the report.

DESEGREGATION AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL

Districts operating Negro high schools

The 31 Negro high schools in Kentucky are, for the most part, very inferior to the corresponding schools for white students. The State board of education's most recent evaluation of all high schools in the State placed seven of these Negro high schools although accredited in the lowest classification; i.e., temporary. This rating is applied to schools which offer 18 or less high school courses. Of the seven non-

[16] In many districts which report an all-white population, there are several families with Negro blood. They live in areas of such picturesque names as "Turkey Knob" and "Hen Cliff." The children of these families are not segregated in education.

Negro schools given this classification, five will be closed next school year. However, none of the Negro schools will close.[17]

Districts continuing to operate Negro high schools generally feel that they are not yet ready for desegregation. Although in some instances there is no pressure from the Negro residents, the immobility may not be laid at the feet of Negro acquiescence in all cases.[18] For example, in 1955, faced with the Supreme Court decisions, one school board adopted this resolution which is recorded in the minutes:[19]

> **Within the limits of human endurance . . . we will proceed as rapidly as possible to set up a plan to secure the widest possible participation of all our citizens in finding the answers to this problem that will be fair and just to each and every person in our community.**

Seven years have passed. No further action has been taken by the board and the Negroes still attend segregated schools.

Another county has four high schools; three for white pupils and the fourth for Negroes. A new consolidated high school is under construction to which the students of the three white high schools will be transferred and those schools will be closed. The Negro high school, however, will not be closed but will be maintained "as long as practical."

Many pillars support the continuation of dual school systems. The principal one is probably political. In a substantial number of Kentucky counties the school system is the largest "industry." It offers the prestige and purse positions in the community. Few administrators in these systems seem to want to risk their jobs to attempt voluntary desegregation which the community does not want. Although school boards are not monolithically segregationist, giving public support to desegregation is thought to be impolitic in the absence of pressure to act affirmatively.

As an economic matter, the maintenance of two systems is expensive, especially at the high school level. In cases where the community has been convinced of the drain on the school budget resulting from segregation, desegregation has been accepted. The minutes of one school board give prohibitive costs as the reason for abandoning their Negro high school program in June 1962.[20] Another district plans the same course of action in the fall of 1963 on the same grounds.

If school authorities can place the responsibility for desegregation on some issue other than concern for the education of Negroes, they are willing to close their separate schools. If responsibility for the

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[17] Seven other Negro high schools were listed as "emergency" schools, which means that they offer between 18 and 24 high school courses.

[18] For example, Negro citizens have appeared before the boards of education of Jessamine and Ballard Counties, only to be told that the communities were not ready for integration.

[19] Caldwell County Board of Education, minutes of Sept. 2, 1955.

[20] Providence Board of Education, minutes of March 1962.

move can be ascribed to economic exigencies, a threatened suit, or orders from the State board of education, there appears to be little resistance to desegregation in Kentucky districts.

Districts without Negro high schools

In many Kentucky school districts the Negro school population totals less than 100 students, the high school population less than 25. In these districts the cost of building and staffing a Negro high school would be prohibitive. State accreditation of and financial aid to high schools is contingent upon the offering of at least 12 courses and an enrollment of not less than 100 students. Many districts cannot meet these requirements; they do not have enough Negro students. Consequently, before the Supreme Court decision in 1954, if there was a Negro high school within commuting distance,[21] the Negro pupils were bussed daily to that high school.[22] Some have continued this practice; others have accepted the Negro high school students in their white high schools.

Where segregation remains there is complete interdependence in the network. Several districts must support each other in the operation of such a segregated system. Very few of the urban areas have a sufficiently large Negro population to justify a Negro high school without the tuition students. If the rural districts stopped sending their Negro students there, most would be forced to close. On the other hand, if the urban district closed its Negro high school and transferred its students to its white high school, the rural districts would have no alternative but to put their Negro students in white high schools. As suggested earlier, cost rather than the illegality of segregation is the usual justification by the district making the first move. One district absorbed the Negro students into its white high school in 1955 to avoid the financial burden of tuition and transportation costs. Another district, however, still pays $10,000 per year to keep 16 Negro high school students out of its white high school.

After one district withdraws from the arrangement, the other districts shift the responsibility for integration to the initiator and readily take their own Negro students into their white schools. When Owensboro closed its Negro high school in June 1962, Ohio County, which has sent its Negro students there for many years, was forced to plan to open its white high schools to its Negro pupils in September.

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[21] Most of the Negro high schools in the State are located in independent urban school districts. These districts generally have more Negro students than the county districts in the surrounding area. With the assurance that adjacent rural districts will pay tuition to a centrally located Negro school to provide education for their Negro students, the building and operation of a Negro high school has been economically feasible.

[22] Where distance made daily commuting impractical, many districts formerly offered, and a fair number continue to offer, Negro youth an opportunity to attend Lincoln Institute as boarding students. Lincoln Institute is considered hereinafter.

On the other hand, the follow-the-leader aspect of this situation favors a continuance of the status quo. Officials in many districts state that they are waiting for others in the partnership to act first. The school board minutes of one district operating a Negro school reflect the responsibility felt toward its partners in segregation to continue maintaining its Negro high school.[23] "[The board of Education] . . . feels an obligation to the Boards of Education of Bath, Montgomery, and Nicholas Counties which have made our Du Bois High School possible by transporting their students here for many years."

Lincoln Institute

There are many school systems operating segregated elementary schools, but no Negro high school. These systems are also beyond commuting range of the nearest Negro high school. These districts send their Negro high school pupils to Lincoln Institute.

Originally a private institution, Lincoln has been under State control for several years.[24] It is a boarding school of 440 Negro children, grades 9–12, with an annual budget of over $300,000.

The plant is old, but impressive and well kept. It has over 500 acres of campus; the buildings are on a hill a quarter of a mile from the entrance. A 450-acre training farm adds to the rural atmosphere.

Lincoln is an all-Negro school. Thirty-five school districts scattered all over the State have contractual arrangements with Lincoln for sending their Negro students there.[25] During the school year 1961–62, 18 districts were represented by students at Lincoln.[26] A number of these districts do not accept Negroes to their own white high schools. Other school district give Negroes a choice of attending the local high school or Lincoln.

The Negro students who choose to attend Lincoln have several

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[23] Mount Sterling Board of Education, minutes of Aug. 16, 1955.

[24] The history of Lincoln Institute is a history of segregation in Kentucky. In 1856 Rev. John G. Fee founded Berea, a school for poor Negroes and whites. The school was placed on a ridge dividing the whites living in the mountains and the Bluegrass area where the Negros lived. Cassius Clay donated the land for this purpose. Reverend Fee's efforts were suspended during the Civil War when he was driven out of Kentucky for his desegregation activities. He returned after the Civil War and continued his efforts to establish biracial education. Then the Kentucky Day Laws were adopted in 1904. These laws required racial segregation in all schools, public and private. Berea fought these laws to the Supreme Court of the United States only to have the laws upheld. The only Kentuckian on the Court, Justice Harlan, dissented, maintaining the laws were unconstitutional.

Berea then, recognizing its duty to the Negro students, established Lincoln Institute in Shelby County. The establishment was accompanied by cross burnings and mob action. Teachers slept with their guns and had to import food from the other counties to survive. Since then Lincoln has grown to be an honored member of the community.

[25] The State support per pupil is paid to Lincoln instead of to the local school district.

[26] Many of the remaining contracting districts have no Negro students of high school age. These districts maintain the contracts in the event they have Negro students of high school age in the future.

identifiable reasons for doing so.[27] Of course, the attraction of a boarding school colors every choice. But for some it is a choice of Lincoln or no high school education;[28] the white schools where they live are closed to them.

Many students, who could enroll in local high schools, do not do so principally because of their desire to attend a school in which they will not be a microscopic minority. In many counties there are often less than 30 scattered Negro families. Lincoln offers these students social horizons far beyond the local high schools. The subject offerings at Lincoln also attract some students. The curriculum there is realistically oriented to Negro job opportunities in Kentucky. For example, Lincoln offers prenursing courses, and maintenance engineering, as well as building trades. In fact, the introduction of terminal training courses is being considered by Lincoln to meet the needs of rural Negroes who do not go to college. These courses would attempt to prepare a student completely for a trade or skill. Lincoln is also attractive to some because of its rapport with Negro colleges and its past record of obtaining academic scholarships for Negroes. Six scholarships have been awarded to 1962 graduates.

The worst that may be said about Lincoln is that it provides a vehicle for some school districts to maintain segregation. Students who live in districts where they have a real choice of a desegregated high school or Lincoln are in a more favorable position than the white students of these communities.[29] Where no such local opportunity is offered, the Negro is in a less-favored position.

If a Negro student needs special attention because of low motivation and poor academic performance in school, he receives that needed attention at Lincoln. The student-teacher ratio (17–1) at Lincoln is much lower than the State average. The introduction of white faculty members is contemplated for next year.

A critical judgment of Lincoln's role should include several considerations: the recognition of the value of facilities such as Linclon's for all underprivileged children; the acknowledgment of the need it

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[27] Lincoln Institute campaigns vigorously to attract students from districts which give students a choice between local high schools or Lincoln Institute. One indicium of Lincoln's success is the Shelbyville Independent School District. There, 75 percent of the Negro pupils choose to attend Lincoln, even though it entails a bus trip of several miles daily (Shelbyville's desegregated high school is within walking distance). Similarly, the Shelby County Board of Education wrote letters to all Negro parents in the district, asking whether they preferred to send their children to Lincoln Institute or the local white high school. The response was unanimously in favor of Lincoln.

[28] Kentucky's compulsory school attendance law requires children to remain in school to age 16. When it is enforced against Negro students who can attend Lincoln, they receive some high school education.

[29] Lincoln is open to white high school students who wish to attend it, but no white student has attended Lincoln.

fulfills for those still denied admission to their local high school; and the question of the propriety of State-supported segregation, even by choice, which cannot be ignored.

DESEGREGATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

All biracial school districts in Kentucky had established Negro elementary schools by 1954 even though many did not have Negro high schools. Many Negro elementary schools were, and are, small because of the small Negro population. Migration to the cities has forced the closing of the smallest of these schools, and the opening of the doors of white schools followed in these cases.

State-forced closing of Negro schools

Since 1954, more than 80 rural Negro elementary schools have been closed. To qualify for State financial support an elementary school must have the approval of the State board of education. The State board does not give accreditation to elementary schools having less than eight teachers. These schools are only "approved" for State aid on a year-by-year basis. The State board also conducts studies of these schools, and, unless they are "isolated," recommends a building program designed for consolidation into a single operation. Threatened with the loss of State aid, the local school boards generally adopt the State board's recommendations. One school district, segregated in the past, will place all of its elementary school pupils, white and Negro, in two consolidated school buildings in September 1963, as a consequence of the State board's recommendations.

Since the justification for the classification as "isolated" is reevaluated yearly, there is reason to believe that there will be continued desegregation by consolidation in Kentucky's rural school districts.

Segregated schools continued

The economic justification for taking Negro students into the local school, which is operative at the high school level, operates to a much lesser degree at the elementary school level, so long as loss of State aid is not threatened.

In districts where the white elementary schools could absorb the Negro elementary school population, the financial benefit resulting from closing the Negro school is not great enough to make it persuasive. A 1-teacher, 1-room, 30-pupil school is not an expensive operation.[30]

[30] The discontinuance of four Negro elementary schools in one county this coming year is expected to save only $20,000.

Consequently, where school authorities consider moral and legal reasons insufficient cause to desegregate schools, and the State board has not withdrawn State aid, segregation persists.

In other districts the capacity of the white elementary schools is not great enough to absorb the enrollment of the Negro school. Here, another way must be found to break the pattern of segregated elementary schools. Geographic districting of all schools without regard to race would effect little change and create a new problem. Most small Kentucky cities contain small Negro communities and unlike Louisville, these communities are stable. The Negro elementary school is, of course, located in the Negro residential area. Geographic school attendance area lines for the Negro school could be drawn around the Negro residential area and be defended logically. But in most cases a few white children living on the periphery would probably be closer to the Negro school than the nearest white school. The school board's problem in these cases is the white periphery. To except the white periphery would be an obvious gerrymander; to include it would be to require white children in minority numbers to attend the traditionally Negro school. The third choice, to do nothing, has been the solution in many school districts in this position in Kentucky. The pre-1954 policy is retained; white children are assigned to white schools and Negro children to Negro schools.[31]

There has been very little vocal objection by Negro communities, either urban or rural, to the continuation of segregation in elementary schools. Fear of economic or other reprisals may exist but is not the sole reason for this acquiescence. The Negro school is the closer to home. Integration in many cases has been attained at the high school level, substantially unburdening the conscience of many citizens, white and Negro. A crucially important deterrent to objection by the Negro community is concern for Negro teachers. The Negro elementary school is the last refuge for Negro teachers in Kentucky. The Negro teachers displaced by the closing of the Negro high school have been moved to elementary schools according to their years of service. The elementary school thus is the last local employment possibility for the oldest and most respected members of the Negro community. Both the Negro teachers and the Negro community feel that if the Negro school were closed the teachers would be dismissed. These opinions do not lack a confirmation in the experience of other communities.

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[31] Several school districts have made no effort to build new schools to accommodate pupils of both races. For example, the Barren County Board of Education minutes of March 1956 give lack of classroom space as a reason for not desegregating their elementary schools at that time. Negroes still attend separate schols. Similarly, in April 1956 the Mount Sterling Board of Education decided not to desegregate the elementary schools "until more room is made available through a building program"; the Negro elementary school is still in operation.

Before a Negro community will object to segregated elementary schools something more than mere segregation must exist. A suit to desegregate the elementary schools of one Kentucky district was filed May 17, 1962, by a NAACP attorney. But school segregation did not precipitate the action. The Negroes were denied the use of the public park in the city and the backwash from this dispute spilled over into the school arena.

Again, if the Negro elementary schools are substantially inferior, Negro parents will complain, but they do not seek integration. Instead, repairs and remodeling are sought for the Negro school. In 1957, in one district, a Negro committee approved the building of a new $485,000 Negro elementary and junior high building. There was a general understanding the desegregation would begin sometime in the future. It has not taken place. In another district this year, Negro parents requested repairs and new additions to the Negro elementary school. They were given first priority. Thus, segregation at this level continues without complaint.[32]

DESEGREGATION BY POLICY ONLY

Some districts operating both white and Negro schools have made a slight concession to the Supreme Court's ruling that compulsory racial segregation in the schools violates the 14th amendment by giving Negro students initially assigned to a Negro school the right to apply for transfer to another school. In many instances this policy is not known to the Negro community; in others it is of public record, if not publicized. The right is not exercised in either case.

Where the board's decision is an informal agreement, the reason for not publishing it is the familiar political one. School authorities do not want to be held responsible by the electorate for initiating desegregation. The authorities want the Negro applicants to appear to be responsible, and to bear whatever community reaction may result. Thus, in these communities the Negroes must take the initiative to be admitted to other than the Negro school.

Another group of segregated districts has decisions to accept Negro pupils in their white schools recorded in the school board's minutes.

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[32] A combination of Negro acquiescence and lack of space is reflected in the April 1962 minutes of the Bath County Board of Education:

". . . due to our present crowded classroom conditions, and until we can complete a new elementary school building in Owingsville, Ky.; and due also to the completely happy situation of our Negro population in their present school surroundings, Bath County schools shall . . . continue as segregated schools until the crowded classroom conditions are relieved and removed, and until Bath County Negroes shall request integration, at which time all grades will be integrated."

The minutes usually state that Negro pupils may enroll in any school in the district. A few boards require the Negro pupils to apply for a transfer. The most stringent requirement is that Negro pupils make application to the superintendent's office, such application to be judged "in the light of the individual case." These policy statements have been matters of public record for several years. Most of the resolutions were passed between 1955 and 1958. Yet no Negro has attended a white school in these districts.

These districts continue to maintain separate school systems. Moreover, substantial capital outlays have been made to improve the Negro school facilities.[33] These investments are made on the expectation that, if the facilities provided are superior, Negroes will not take advantage of the transfer provisions.

Although generally these free-transfer rights are not exercised, there is reason to believe that, if they were, the Negro facility would soon be abandoned. The experience is this: Once a pupil transfer plan is utilized by Negroes, the flow of students is in one direction only (i.e., out of the Negro and into the white schools). The maintenance of duplicate facilities then loses its value, and segregation falls to economic considerations. As a result, in districts where the existing white schools could absorb the Negro school population, the first substantial number of Negro transfers to white schools would signal the end of a dual system, and a closing of the Negro schools.

In other school districts, a functioning transfer system would precipitate an overcrowding of the existing white schools.[34] For these districts, a transfer policy has no value as an intermediate device in the abandonment of dual facilities. They will maintain segregated schools until an all-accommodating new school is built. Then the Negro facilities will be closed and the Negroes transferred to the new school.

NEGRO TEACHERS

When Kentucky school districts close their Negro schools the school administration is faced with the problem of what to do with the Negro teachers. Generally, the Negro teachers are dismissed. Only 37 Negro teachers from 80-plus Negro schools which have been closed since 1954 have been transferred to the white schools.

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[33] In Simpson County an investment of $120,000 was made in improvements in the Negro high school in the 1961–62 school year.

[34] Several districts assert that they cannot, under present conditions, absorb the Negro high school students. For example, Warren County sends 90 Negro students to a Negro high school in another district. Absorption of the Negro students in the existing high schools would aggravate the severe overcrowding (several are already operating on double sessions). The Negro students are the only students sent to another district.

White and Negro teachers are treated equally under the Kentucky tenure laws. After 6 years of teaching in one district, a teacher must be granted tenure and, thereafter, may be dismissed only for cause. Many districts, upon closing their Negro schools, had to decide what to do with Negro teachers on tenure. In a two-step process these districts concluded (1) that more teachers were not needed in the remaining schools, and (2) upon review of the qualifications of all teachers in the system, that the Negro teachers were the least qualified.

These decisions are regulated by statutes which give preference to teachers who have continuing contracts and greater seniority. If qualified, they must be absorbed in the remaining schools. In dismissing teachers with tenure, administrators decide, in effect, that recent college graduates, with little experience, are qualified teachers, and the older, more experienced, Negro teachers are not.

The grounds for wholesale dismissal of Negro teachers are tenuous. Several of the teachers released may have been the low performers in the system, but dismissal of all Negro teachers on the grounds of incompetency is questionable. School authorities, anticipating future problems in dismissing Negro teachers on tenure, have now taken a different approach. The present strategy is to avoid giving any more Negro teachers tenure. The tactics are several. The boldest measure, employed by one district, was to offer a teacher a series of 2-year contracts. The school authorities explained to him that he merited tenure, but they preferred he accept the 2-year contracts. Wanting the job, he did. Another practice is to dismiss Negro teachers before tenure is attained, and hire other Negro teachers. One district, which will close its Negro high school in 1963, gave nine Negro teachers notice of dismissal at the beginning of the 1961 school year. They have been permitted to remain at the Negro high school until it closes.

When a school board has several Negro teachers to consider, a pattern appears. Wherever possible, the Negro teachers on tenure are absorbed into the system, and the remainder of the Negro teachers are released—even though vacancies may exist in the schools.

In general, the small Kentucky school districts do not have the problem of absorbing the Negro school administrators who in other States have suffered more than Negro teachers in the desegregation process. The Kentucky Negro school principal is almost always a qualified teacher also. Consequently, these administrators are treated as teachers in the absorption process.

Most school authorities assume that desegregation of pupils and faculties in the same year would meet with strong community resistance. These attitudes persist even though there have been outstanding examples of successful mergers of Negro faculties and students

simultaneously in the State. If the Negro teachers are not taken into the system when the Negro students are absorbed, they are not employed later. The Negro teacher cannot wait several years until school authorities consider the time appropriate for teacher desegregation; instead, they leave the community and look for other positions.

Many Negro teachers who are placed on formerly all-white faculties are given nonsensitive positions. In one district, which is closing its Negro elementary school this year, the Negro teacher has been assigned as a roving teacher, substitute teacher, and textbook custodian. She will not suffer a cut in pay. In another school district, which is closing its elementary school this year, one Negro teacher was retained in the system as librarian for elementary schools. The principal and another teacher in the Negro school were released.

Transitional, nonsensitive placement of Negro teachers does ease community acceptance of them. But in some instances these transitional positions become permanent, and the Negro teachers do not ever reach the classroom again. There is little complaint by the Negro teachers, because the special assignments are easier than classroom duties. Some white teachers, however, resent the assignment of these desirable jobs to Negroes.

In summary, it may be said that teacher desegregation in Kentucky (except for Louisville) has been negative to date. The Negro teachers who have been placed on formerly all-white faculties are there only because the school authorities could not dismiss them without difficulty. In the districts where Negro teachers have been transferred to a white school there is little evidence of a policy of nondiscrimination in future hiring. Since most of the incumbent Negro teachers are middle aged or older, the total number of Negro teachers may be expected to diminish as these teachers retire. The tragedy of this situation is that talented young Negro teachers are not settling in Kentucky, and those to whom Kentucky is home are leaving the State.

THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The State board of education has limited, but strong, powers over the school districts in the State. New buildings, and improvements on existing structures, must be approved by the State board of education. Similarly, a substantial part of the operating budget of school districts is distributed by the State board. The State board controls the pocketbook of the school districts.

The State board has used this purse power to encourage desegregation in several ways. Perhaps the greatest influence, in terms of the

number of pupils desegregated, is the policy of threatening discontinuance of State aid to any nonisolated school having less than eight teachers. This policy has forced almost 100 small Negro schools to close. A related power, which has continuing significance, is the power of the State board to classify a school as isolated or nonisolated. If a school is classified as isolated, it does not come within the minimum teacher proscription on State aid.

Formerly, many small Negro schools were classified as isolated, and received State aid. However, as road construction progressed, the State board showed little hesitancy in reclassifying the small Negro school as nonisolated, and no longer appropriate for State aid. The resultant economic threat to the individual school district generally forced the closing of the Negro school. The future importance of this reclassification device is magnified as the road construction program in Kentucky continues. There is every reason to expect a continuation of this process.

The State board's policy regarding the approval of new school construction has encouraged desegregation. The policy is simple; the board merely requires that every new building provide classroom space for all students in the district. The strategy is clear; after the construction of the new building (with unused classroom space in it), the economic burden of operating a separate Negro school is clearly presented to the local district. Moreover, Negro leadership is encouraged to press for desegregation by the physical facilities of the new school. This factor is especially important in school districts which have rested their segregation policies on the premise that the absorption of the Negro students would result in severe overcrowding.

The accreditation policy of the board is also used to improve Negro education. The board has consistently given inferior schools for Negroes a low rating. Such a rating, or the threat of removal of accreditation, has at least caused local districts to improve the conditions in the Negro schools, and in some cases to close them. Similarly, the local Negro communities are stirred to action when their schools consistently receive low ratings.

The foregoing procedures are all within the express powers of the State board. The board has gone further and tried to bring about desegregation by moral persuasion. It has done more than publicize its desegregation policy. In April 1962, the State superintendent of education sent letters to 49 segregated school districts requesting their plans for desegregation. The results indicated that over 40 districts had not contemplated any active desegregation measures. The board then detailed six State supervisors to interview the school authorities in each district personally. The supervisors' findings, reported in June 1962, were not encouraging. But this effort

points up the active and strong position the Kentucky State Board of Education has consistently taken to encourage desegregation. Indeed, one district cited the board's most recent action as one reason behind its desegregation in the fall of 1962.

The State board is now at a crossroads. The supervisors' reports have indicated that persuasion and current economic and accreditation policies are not sufficient to bring about desegregation in the remaining segregated school districts. The board is aware that firmer steps must be employed or many Kentucky schools will continue segregation policies.

Two possibilities have been suggested: (1) that the board refuse to approve construction of new schools in districts where segregated instruction exists; (2) that the board penalize segregated districts by making segregation a demerit in State accreditation.

In summary, the State board of education has encouraged local initiative to desegregate, by both economic and moral persuasion. It has not forced desegregation in any district. The still-segregated districts are the more recalcitrant in the State, and more action by the State board will be needed to bring about desegregation in these districts.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Community attitudes toward school desegregation in Kentucky have changed in the last 8 years. Local tempers have moved from firm resistance to an acceptance of desegregation as inevitable. But, despite this favorable change, segregation still exists.[35] The situation has resolved into a problem of finding someone to initiate desegregation activity.

Local school administrators are not willing to risk the political unpopularity which would fall to them if they initiate desegregation. Even in the school districts which will accept Negro applicants in white schools there is little publication of the policy, and no encouragement of Negro applicants. Here again, to give any support to desegregation is thought a politically unwise act.

Negro parents and community leaders have been hesitant to request desegregation. The fear of economic or other reprisals, perhaps justified 8 years ago, still carries over, even though the climate of the community may have changed. Negro teachers, high in the respect of the Negro community, generally have not furnished leadership in school desegregation.

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[35] See app. F.

National organizations dedicated to securing equal rights for Negroes have not undertaken positive programs for school desegregation in Kentucky. Limited resources have restricted these organizations to investigating and processing complaints which must first be brought to their attention. Consequently, here also the responsibility for taking the first step rests on the local Negro communities.

The judgment of whether there is or is not a moral duty on local Negro leaders to initiate desegregation activities in the face of official inertia is open to inquiry. But the pragmatic observation that a substantial amount of segregation will probably continue if they do not is clear.

Assuming Negro leadership is forthcoming, what resistance will be encountered? There is no one answer. The problems vary according to the levels of segregated schools maintained by individual school districts.

In the districts which operate Negro high schools the problems are manifold. If a high school is new, or a serviceable building, the school administration does not want to close it. On the other hand, white parents would object strenuously to sending their children to the traditionally Negro school. The only desegregation which would be politically feasible in this case would be sending some Negro students to the all-white high school, and retaining enough Negro children in the Negro high school building to operate it.

Several districts have used the following technique. The Negro high school program is abandoned, and the Negro high school students are transferred to the formerly all-white high school. But the Negro high school building continues to furnish the first 8 years of Negro education. This practice avoids the problem of placement of Negro high school teachers. The Negro high school teachers of tenure status are transferred to the first eight grades, and the incumbent teachers there, when not on tenure, are dismissed. Future closings of Negro high schools will probably follow this pattern.

In districts which do not operate Negro high schools, but send their students to another district, the problems are fewer. Once several Negroes are admitted to the local high school, the economic burden of transporting the remaining Negroes out of the district usually forces the abandonment of the practice. The school boards in these districts are not faced with the problems of Negro school buildings or of Negro teachers. Once their high schools become biracial, the reason for transporting the Negro students to another district fails and economic considerations prevail.

In districts which have desegregated their high schools, but have retained segregated elementary schools, the problems are similar to the problems of districts which still have Negro high schools. Both

are faced with the question of what to do about Negro teachers and Negro school buildings. The solution of closing the Negro high school and retaining the Negro elementary school has been discussed above. If there are only Negro elementary schools, there can be no avoidance of the issue of the Negro teacher and school building. The technique in the past has been to close the Negro school building and release most of the Negro teachers. However, some progress has been made in the retention of Negro teachers in the last several years.

In the districts which have made decisions (publicized or unpublicized) to accept Negro applicants to their traditionally all-white schools, the practical problem is the lack of Negro applicants for transfer. Negro leadership is especially important in these districts, since officially desegregation has been accepted. Here only the combined inertia of the school administrations and the Negro community supports the dual system.

APPENDIX A

Some Louisville Elementary Schools in Transition [1]

School	Enrollment					
	October 1959		September 1960		September 1961	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Brandeis	292	152	275	230	234	235
Foster	244	519	179	619	52	697
Parkland	213	191	178	245	115	346
Prentice	123	68	120	77	99	91
Salisbury	143	322	119	352	40	354

[1] From "Report on the Status of Desegregation in the Louisville Public Schools on September 27, 1961," published by the Louisville Department of Education, Oct. 16, 1961.

APPENDIX B

Racial Composition of Louisville Junior High Schools in School Year Beginning September 1961 [1]

School	Year erected	White	Negro	Percent Negro
Southern	1927	1,084	0	0
Gottschalk	1955	926	7	.7
Highland	1926	679	8	1.2
Barrett	1931	722	31	4.1
Western	1926	966	79	8.5
Eastern	1910	806	144	15.2
duPont Manual	1934	716	142	16.5
Shawnee	1929	885	262	23.7
Parkland	1930	805	262	25.3
Manly	1892	768	348	31.2
DuValle	1954	9	961	99.0
Jackson	1928	0	489	100.0
Russell	1891	0	1,094	100.0
Total	----	8,366	3,827	31.4

[1] From "Report on the Status of Desegregation in the Louisville Public Schools on September 27, 1961," published by the Louisville Department of Education, Oct. 16, 1961.

APPENDIX C

Limitations on Selections of Louisville Senior High Schools

Theodore Ahrens Trade High School.—Students living within the Louisville school boundaries who have completed the ninth grade and who desire to obtain training in the basic skills and knowledge of a specific trade or occupation may apply for entrance to Ahrens. The program is organized to serve primarily those students who expect to complete high school and to enter a trade or other occupation upon graduation.

J. M. Atherton High School.—Students living within the Louisville school boundaries east of Shelby Street may attend Atherton High School. Programs of study include college preparatory, general academic, and business education.

Central High School.—Students living within the Louisville school boundaries may attend Central High School. It is a comprehensive high school and the programs of study include college preparatory, general academic, fine arts and music, business education, vocation and trade training.

Du Pont Manual High School.—Students living within the Louisville school boundaries and planning a preengineering program for college or a general technical program may attend duPont Manual High School. Girls living east of 14th Street, north of Broadway, or east of 18th Street, south of Broadway, and east of Shelby Street, may enroll in a college preparatory, general academic, basic or business education program.

Louisville Male High School.—Students living within the Louisville school boundaries and planning to take a college preparatory program, and boys who plan to take Reserve Officers' Training Corps may attend Louisville Male High School. Pupils living east of 14th Street, north of Broadway east of 18th Street, south of Broadway, and west of Shelby Street may enroll in any of the courses offered.

Shawnee High School.—Students living west of 14th Street, north of Broadway, or west of 18th Street, south of Broadway may attend Shawnee High School. Shawnee is a general high school. Programs of study include college preparatory, general academic, and business education.

APPENDIX D

Racial Composition of Louisville High Schools in School Year Beginning September 1961 [1]

School	White	Negro	Percent Negro
Atherton High	929	6	0.6
Ahrens Trade	1,071	47	4.2
duPont Manual	1,712	89	4.9
Shawnee High	908	150	14.4
Louisville Male	934	230	19.8
Central High	1	1,478	99.9
Total	5,555	2,000	26.5

[1] From "Report on the Status of Desegregation in the Louisville Public Schools on September 27, 1961," published by the Louisville Department of Educaton, Oct. 16, 1961.

APPENDIX E

Choice of Central High School by Negro Students in Junior High Schools [1]

School	Percentage of Negro students in the school	Percentage of Negro students choosing Central [2]
Southern	0	0
Gottschalk	.7	0
Highland	1.2	0
Barrett	4.1	35.4
Western	8.5	21.8
Eastern	15.2	29.4
duPont Manual	16.5	16.5
Shawnee	23.7	4.7
Parkland	25.3	33.1
Manly	31.2	42.3
DuValle	99.0	70.9
Jackson	100.0	65.9
Russell	100.0	87.3

[1] Based on tentative selections as of May 29, 1962.

[2] Since records by race of each class are not kept, this figure was arrived at by taking one-third of the Negro enrollment in each junior high school, and positing that as the number of Negro students in each class.

APPENDIX F

Status of Desegregation in Kentucky by School Districts October 1961 [1]

	Number of Districts [2]	Percentage
Districts with no Negro school population	54	25.9
Districts with no schools attended solely by Negroes	58	27.9
Districts operating elementary and high schools attended solely by Negroes	31	15.0
Districts operating elementary schools attended solely by Negroes and sending Negroes out of the district to high school	25	12.0
Districts with biracial high schools and maintaining elementary schools attended solely by Negroes	40	19.2
Total	208	100.0

[1] Excluding Louisville.

[2] From "Educational Bulletin, Kentucky School Directory 1961–1962," published by the Kentucky Department of Education, October 1961.

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